

3 November 1977

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National Council of World Affairs
CIA Headquarters Bldg.
1600, Tuesday, 8 November 1977

Council on Foreign Relations
Chicago, Illinois
1100-1300, 14 November 1977

AN AMERICAN MODEL OF INTELLIGENCE

- A. Culminating 6 months of intensive effort, the President, in ^{early} late August, announced a major reorganization of the intelligence apparatus of this country.

The long term effect of this move will be to force the evolution of an intelligence organization quite different from any that has existed before. In effect creating a distinctly American model of intelligence.

Today I thought it might be of interest to you if I discussed the fundamental aspects of these changes as I see them, as well as touching on some of the other actions being initiated by your intelligence community.

character of that model.

- B. The President's decision on reorganization has achieved two things:

1. strengthened control over the whole intelligence apparatus - thereby improving effectiveness;

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2. ensured stringent oversight - thereby
tightening accountability.

As Director of the Central Intelligence Agency I run one of many agencies in the U.S. Government involved in ~~collecting~~ ^{producing} intelligence. Others include the Defense Intelligence Agency in DOD, the Bureau of Intelligence and Research in the State Department, the FBI, Treasury, and the new Energy Department.

I am also the Director of Central Intelligence. As such I have the broad charter of pulling together the efforts of all these various agencies and offices. In the reorganization the President has strengthened my hand to do this by giving my office:

1. full authority over the budgets of all intelligence agencies, and
2. full authority for setting their tasks.

^{should} This enables me to coordinate and control our total collection efforts to a degree hoped for but not realized in the National Security Act of 1947. Claims aired by some journalists that this creates an intelligence czar reflect a lack of understanding of the intelligence process. You see there are two sides to the coin of providing good intelligence to our top decision-makers:

1. Collecting

- most expensive/riskiest

- ~~done by all agencies just mentioned~~

- want good control; want minimum overlap; want no coverage gaps
- only centralized control ensures this.

2. Research, analysis, interpretation

- mountains of info collected
- want plenty of overlap to ensure
 - o divergent/independent views
 - o full range of interpretation
- I do not control analysis except at the CIA
- continued redundancy assured because in fact 3 organizations do competitive analysis of intelligence:
 - o State - Political/Econ
 - o DOD - Military/Political
 - o CIA - Political/Mil/Econ

I believe that this new organizational arrangement will ensure better performance in both collecting and interpreting intelligence. I am confident also that the President and many other of our top executives

because of a recognition that good intelligence is perhaps more important to our country today than ever since the creation of a Central Intelligence organization 30 years ago.

Thirty years ago we had vast military superiority. The Soviets, having recognized the failure of their system to grow in other ways, have become a world power based on their military might. Large amounts of this power are posed on NATO's frontiers in Europe and range the high seas. In this condition of rough military parity, the value of intelligence today is great. Real advantages can accrue from accurately knowing what your potential adversary's strength is and what he intends to do with it. He seldom tells you this, but he does give it away in many small ways, which, when watched over a long period of time, and pieced together, can give you real advantages. It is the kind of leverage that can turn the tide of battle.

If you look past the military scene, there are other similar situations:

Economics - 30 years ago - economically independent - today interdependence - energy situation - lose shirt if not smart - power blocks - raw materials/ trade leverage.

Politics - world different - from U.S. domination to situation today, even smallest evolving nations

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are going own way and do not want to be dictated to either by the U.S. or Soviet Russia. We must be smart, understand pol/econ/cultural attitudes or we will be out-maneuvered. ~~At~~ At same time we must achieve this necessary intell in manner will not undermine principles and standards of our society. Thus a second major effect of the President's has been to make the oversight process more comprehensive.

- Oversight

(1) Personal interest of President/VP

(2) Senate Select Committee

- relations with IC are close
and excellent

(3) New House Committee

- benefits of 1 committee in House
and 1 in Senate

(4) Legal requirement for approval for
covert operations

(5) IOB

- Risk in all of this:

(1) Timidity - least common denominator

(2) Security leaks

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C. Next several years critical - I'm confident, but alert. Need understanding and support of Congress - which means public. Hence, we are carefully reappraising our policies regarding secrecy and openness, looking for ways in which we can be more forthright with the public and at the same time ensure adequate secrecy to carry out our operations.

1. As a first step, we have tried to be more accessible to the media.

- Time
- Good Morning America - 60 Minutes
- Interviews

2. We are also attempting to make more of our product accessible to the public. The publication of unclassified studies is one of our most important, substantive initiatives. It stems from a conviction that the Intelligence Community is working for the American people and that they deserve to share our results whenever that is possible. We intend to publish in unclassified form the maximum amount of intelligence analysis that we can.

To date we have published several major studies which I believe make an important contribution to public debate:

- ~~World Steel Outlook~~
- World Energy Situation
- Soviet/Chinese Energy Prospects
- ~~World Steel Outlook~~

Building on these studies we have been looking at other aspects of the Soviet economy like:

- o demographic factors,
- o ~~growth of the labor force,~~
- o influence of oil output decline, etc.

This has led to a recently completed study for the Joint Economic Committee of Congress on Soviet Economic Problems and Prospects. *Let me describe - ~~how~~ what can*

From the mid-1960's until very recently, CIA viewed Soviet economic performance as adequate to allow the simultaneous achievement of the Soviet government's most important objectives - i.e.,

- o to catch up militarily with the US;
- o to provide regular, if unspectacular improvements in living conditions; and
- o to sustain investment needed for fairly rapid economic growth.

This study thoroughly re-examines these assumptions and comes to the conclusion that Soviet prospects are more bleak than at any time since Stalin's death.

The Problem:

1. Dead end on productivity policy of increasing inputs of labor and capital.
 - a. Decreasing rate of growth of manpower - what there will be from traditionally rural areas; precipitous labor shortage - 1960 birth rates;
 - b. Rapid depletion of cheap, conveniently located mineral reserves;
 - c. Oil shortage caused by policy of increased output vice development of new sources.
- 5 year plan acknowledges - but predicts productivity up
- Don't believe can do - no sign prod/effic improving
econ doctrine diff to change
- Instead difficult pragmatic choices
 1. intense debate over military expenditures - manpower and investment
 2. reduce oil exports to E. Europe, worsening already diff economic situation and threatening

3. reduced hard currency earning capability and
hence imports technology - alternative -
borrow more

Decisions likely - period leadership change

One of the most important points which comes out of all of this, I believe, is that these policy decisions which the Soviets must make in the near future, seem on the surface remote to our lives. Yet, they will impact on us in fundamental ways:

1. *JH* The size of the Soviet Armed Forces should be affected, What does that mean in terms of our Armed Forces and the expenditures on the weapons of the 1980's which we are now funding?

2. *JH* The ^{is} increased competition for finite energy reserves, What will that do to prices? To the availability of fuel? How should that influence our energy decisions?

3. *JH* The possible economic destabilization of E. Europe *are in for trouble is that tension* Greater potential for ~~conflict~~ in Europe? ~~Potential for greater Western influence?~~

One of the side benefits of publishing this type of study is the exchanges it leads to with our critics. In the case of our first oil study, I replied to all serious critics and invited them to detail their criticisms. Those who did, were invited to spend a day with the authors of our study. It was an excellent exchange and of a type which I hope will occur

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as a result of this new study on the Soviet economy.

In the case of ^a recent study of the Chinese ^{gran project} economy, it was reported in the New York Times (31 Oct 77) that, while this ^{CIA} new source of information is "a welcome development for an industry that lives and breathes on intelligence", some commodity specialists questioned whether the study reflected the facts, or whether they were planted for some purpose other than to inform the trade.

My answer is twofold:

First) Our unclassified studies, like the economic study of China, contain exactly the same facts, analysis, and conclusions which we present to the President and other senior decisionmakers. The only difference being that to declassify the study, it is often necessary to omit details which reveal sensitive sources in order to protect those sources. These omissions do not vitiate or change either the facts on which the study is based, or its conclusions. *If would, don't publish.*

Second) The value of the Intelligence Community or any of its products is directly related to the accuracy and freedom from bias of its work. We have no policy function. I have no direct or implicit responsibility to support any Administration position. I am asked only to collect information, then to interpret and analyze it

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thoroughly and honestly. Neither myself, nor any of the hundreds of serious analyst - scholars who produce these studies would tolerate any less a standard.

As we continue to make public more studies, I want to encourage future dialogues with both the academic and business communities - first to ensure any suspicions such as I have described with the China study are addressed directly and, more importantly, so that we both can benefit from the rigors of an intellectual exchange.

- D. Let me assure you, however, that we cannot and will not open everything up. An essential ingredient of intelligence operations is the ability to preserve secrets. Some of the information behind both the Soviet oil and economic forecasts was derived from secret sources which would be jeopardized in the future were we to reveal them.

Thus, we cannot forget that while we move to improve the dialogue with the public and build public understanding and support for what we do in the defense of our country, we must ask and obtain the public's cooperation in preserving that level of secrecy which is essential to these activities.

In short, we are working in two directions at once. By declassifying information that need not be classified we are attempting to promote greater respect for genuinely secret information.

On the other side of the coin, we are drawing a tighter protective circle around that information or those activities which are truly secret.

E. In conclusion, let me make three points:

1. The Intelligence Community is a unique national resource without which our country could not operate as well as it does in this complicated world. This resource must be preserved.

2. You will be hearing from the Intelligence Community more. As we continue to mold our more open American model of intelligence, I intend to make the public one of the direct beneficiaries of our efforts to a degree which has never been attempted before.

3. Because of the intense interest in Congress in overseeing intelligence activities; because of the personal interest of the President and Vice President; because of the sensitivity within the Intelligence Community itself to the issues of legality, morality and ethics, heightened over the past few years of investigation and criticism; you can be assured that the Intelligence Community is doing the job it was created to do, doing it very competently, and doing nothing else.

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26 October 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: NFAC Security Officer

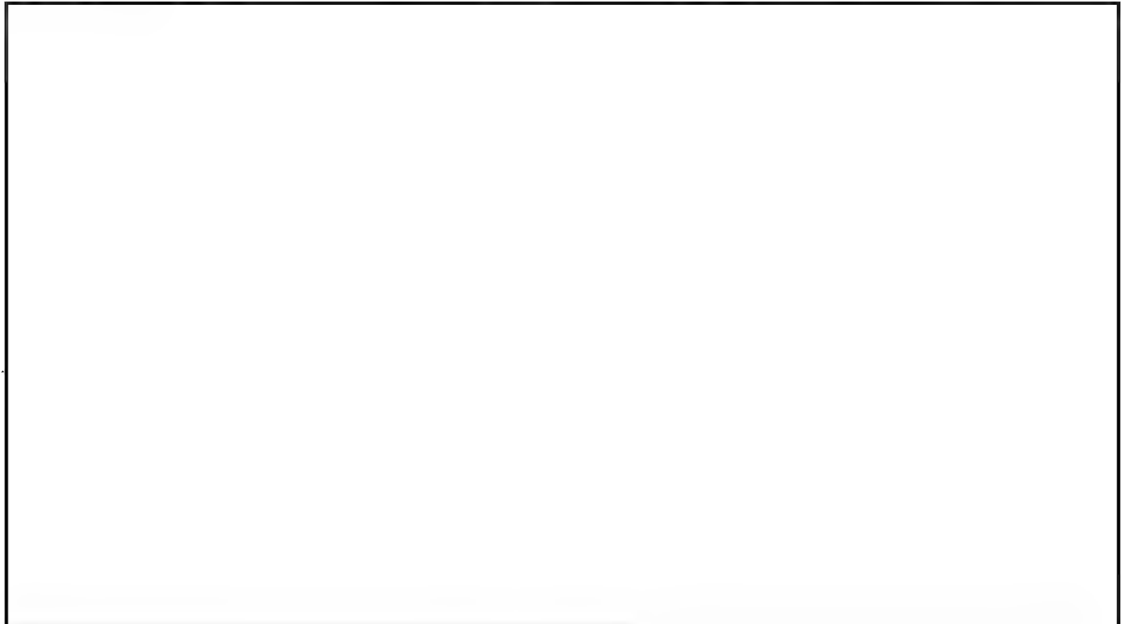
FROM : Associate Coordinator for Academic Relations
and External Analytical Support

SUBJECT : Visit by World Affairs Council Directors

The following directors of World Affairs Councils in cities throughout the United States will be visiting CIA Headquarters building during the afternoon of November 8. Admiral Turner will brief them on the intelligence community in the DCI conference room at about 3:30 or 4:00 p.m.

This is provided for your information and for the necessary security checks.

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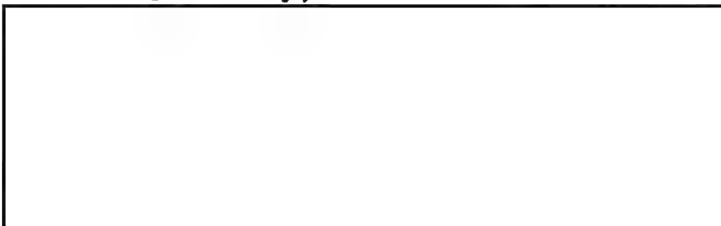
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Sincerely,



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13 June 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: Associate Deputy Director for Intelligence

THROUGH : Acting Director, Center for Policy Support

FROM : Coordinator for Academic Relations and
External Analytical Support

SUBJECT : Outreach to World Affairs Councils

1. Today I talked to Marilyn Jacobsen, Executive Director of the World Affairs Council of inland Southern California. We explored several ways to arrange for senior Agency representatives to speak before World Affairs Council gatherings. She is enthusiastic about arranging such meetings, particularly in light of the successful visit to Southern California earlier this year by STATINTL

2. We discussed the possibility of Admiral Turner or another senior Agency official addressing the next meeting of executive directors of World Affairs Councils from throughout the country. Jacobsen told me that the executive directors meet twice a year, usually in Washington. Their last meeting was in May, and the next one, though not yet firmly scheduled, is likely to be held in Boston in the fall. She said that she would be delighted to have Admiral Turner appear at the fall meeting and is confident that her colleagues on the national level committee will agree. There are about 40 executive directors who are the operating heads of World Affairs Councils in most of the large metropolitan areas. The membership of the councils is drawn from the business and academic sectors and from the community at large.

3. A parallel organization, the Society for Citizen Education in World Affairs, has a somewhat larger membership and apparently is affiliated in many cities with the World Affairs Councils. Executive directors of the "Societies" usually meet at the same time and place as the executive directors of the World Affairs Councils. Jacobsen suggested that the directors of both groups could be convened together to hear a presentation by a senior Agency representative, either this fall or the next time they meet in Washington.

COMMUNITY WORLD AFFAIRS ORGANIZATIONS

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participation is ...

and I wish to participate now ...

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J.D. Diffenbaugh, Inc.
V.W. Grubbs
Harris Company
J. Putnam Henck Corporation
IBM Corporation
Johnson and Nielsen
La Verne College
Loma Linda University
Pomona College, Claremont
Riverside City College
Riverside Press-Enterprise Company
Sam Landis
San Bernardino Sun-Telegram
San Bernardino Valley College
Security Pacific National Bank, Riverside
Security Pacific National Bank, San Bernardino
James E. Smith
Southern California Gas Company
Mr. and Mrs. Edward Taylor
Title Insurance and Trust, San Bernardino
University of California, Riverside
University of Redlands
Mrs. James R. Walker, Jr.
The Hon. Frances E. Willis
E.L. Yeager Construction

Presidents

Godfrey T. Anderson	1964-66	James E. Smith	1971-72
Stephen I. Zeiterberg	1966-68	David Ackley	1972-73
Ernst H. Krause	1968-69	William J. Moore	1973-74
Carolyn Diffenbaugh	1969-70	Henry G. Dittmar	1974-75
J. Putnam Henck	1970-71	John M. Myline III	1975-

James R. Hartley, Executive Vice President
Kathleen M. Graham, Executive Director

"In the next decade, even more than in the past, those concerned with the foreign policy of the American government must concern themselves also with domestic policies and domestic politics. That is true not only because the major issues of international economics — oil and energy, for example — are both domestic and foreign. It is true because the climate of American opinion today is cynical toward almost every aspect of governmental action. Since foreign policy is clearly a governmental action, it bears the brunt of that pervasive cynicism. The only way I can see to avoid a new isolationism is to make government credible again to its citizens. And that task begins at home."

David S. Broder

The Washington Post

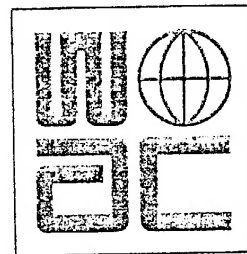
(In an address to World Affairs Council
on April 25, 1975, at Riverside City College)

"Our foreign policy will mean little if other nations see our actions as sporadic initiatives of a small group reflecting no coherent national purpose or consensus. No foreign policy—no matter how ingenious—has any chance of success if it is born in the minds of a few and carried in the hearts of none."

Henry A. Kissinger

Secretary of State

WHAT
IN
THE
WORLD



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WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL
1976-77 PROGRAM SUMMARY

10/25 DR. S. I. HAYAKAWA
Republican Candidate for U.S. Senate from California
"Common Sense is Exportable"

10/27 JOAN BRADEN
Consumer Affairs Coordinator, U.S. Department of State

11/15 CAPT. LARRY KIMMEL
U.S. Army Military Intelligence Officer, NATO
"A Visit to the Wall"

11/15 DAVID EDWIN LONG
Foreign Service Officer/Middle East Expert

12/9 DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN
U.S. Senator-Elect from New York

1/11 DAVID SHEAR
Agency for International Development

1/18 ARNAUD DE BORCHGRAVE
Senior Foreign Correspondent for Newsweek
"U.S. Foreign Policy Under Carter"

2/15 DAVID S. BRODER
Columnist, "The Washington Post"

2/18 CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI
President, National Cultural Liberation Movement of South Africa
Chief Minister: Kwazulu
"South Africa from a Black Perspective"

25X1 2/23
Special Assistant to the Deputy Director of Central Intelligence
Agency

2/24 RUDY FIMBRES
U.S. Department of State, Office for Humanitarian Affairs
"Speaking Out for South Africa's Foreign Policy"

- 3/2 SENATOR MIKE MANSFIELD
Former U.S. Senator from Montana, now Ambassador to Japan
In cooperation with Loma Linda University
- 3/7 DR. PETER HENDRY
Food and Agriculture Organization
- 3/30 SEAN RONAN
Special Counselor to the European Community President
- 4/13 MARTIN AGRONSKY
Television News Commentator
- 4/22 WILLIAM E. COLBY
Former Director of the Central Intelligence Agency
"Intelligence: Out of the Shadows"
In cooperation with Riverside City College
- 5/3 STEPHEN S. ROSENFELD
The Washington Post
"Carter and the Kremlin"
- 5/9 MAJ. GEN. BJØRN EGGE
Deputy Commandant, NATO Defense College, Rome
"NATO and the Warsaw Pact: A Realistic Appraisal"
- 6/13 THE HON. FERNAND SPAAK
Head of the Delegation of the Commission of the
European Community

WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL
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Riverside, California 92521

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